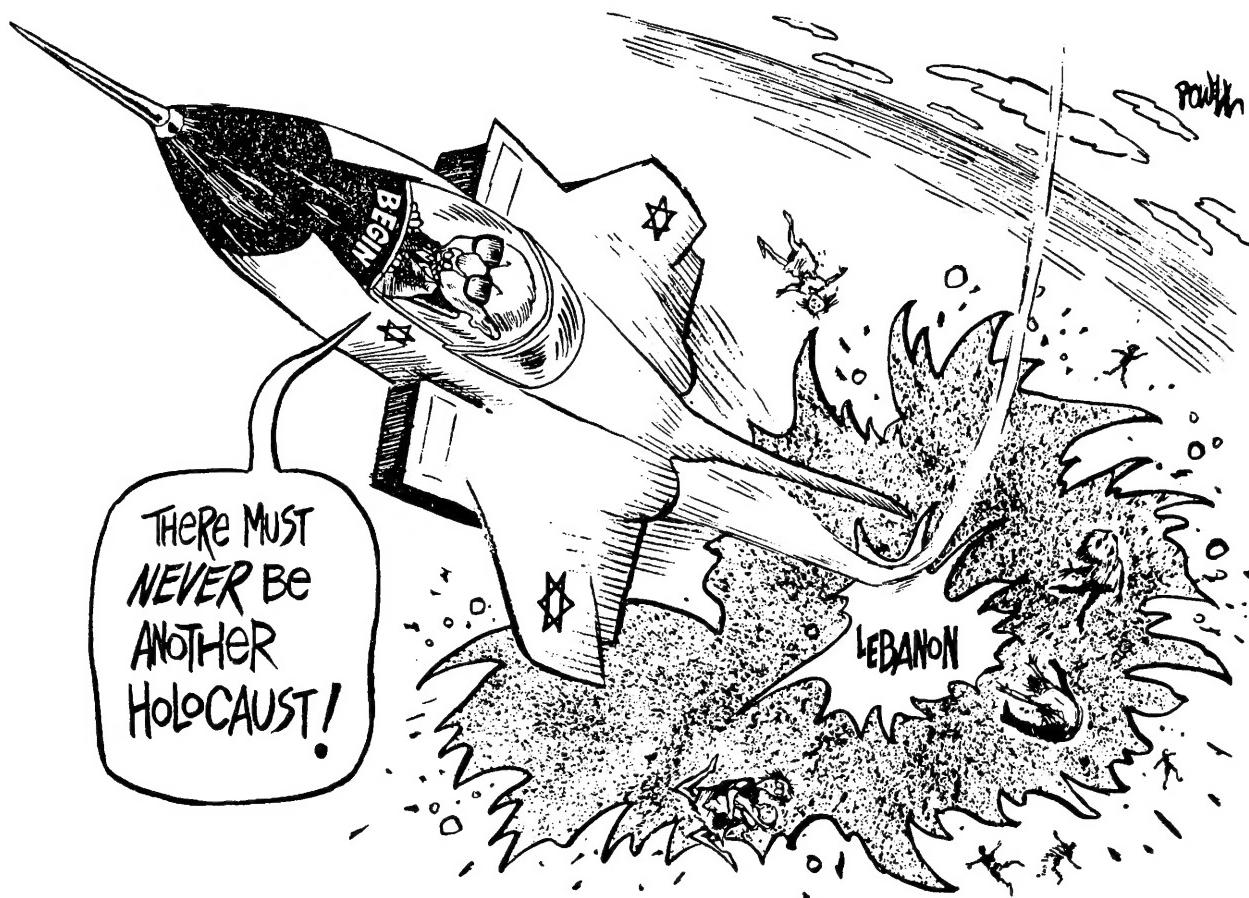


palestine. perspectives

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ISRAEL'S BEIRUT MASSACRE

On the morning of Friday, July 17, 1981 at 10:30 a.m., Fakhani, one of the heavily populated areas of Beirut, became the scene of a horrible crime.

Without any forewarning, Israeli planes in 5 waves screamed over the Lebanese capital and blasted the residential quarter and the neighboring districts of Tareek al Jadideh and Cite Sportive for over half an hour with 2,000 pound bombs and rockets. At least six 7 and 8 story apartment buildings collapsed, all crammed with Lebanese and Palestinian families. Many of them were refugees driven from Palestine or various areas of Lebanon. Seventeen other buildings were partly destroyed. Social and educational institutions were damaged, fires broke out and hundreds of people were trapped under fallen masonry.

At the same time, Israeli planes, gunboats and artillery pounded various areas to the south of Beirut. The attacks which lasted all day, hit the towns of Damour, Nabatiyeh, Sidon, Tyre, Hasbaya and the Zahran oil refinery. According to the preliminary report submitted to the U.N. Security Council by the Lebanese government on the night of July 17-18, on that one day alone

the Israelis murdered about 300 people. Nearly all of the victims were civilians. About 800 more were wounded. In Beirut alone, 200 people, a great part of them children, were killed and 700 wounded. All these figures were incomplete since rescue workers were at that time still digging up the mutilated bodies of more victims out of the debris.

The horrible attack on the civilian quarters of Beirut was preceded by a week of deliberately escalated Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinians, which coincided with the return of U.S. President Reagan's "special envoy" to the Middle East, Philip Habib.

On July 10, without any reason, Israeli warplanes started to bomb the villages of Habouche and Ghazieh in southern Lebanon, killing 6 and wounding 20 people. On July 12, they bombed Damour, south of Beirut, killing 5 and wounding 25. On July 14, 10 people were killed and 30 wounded in new air raids on the villages of Baasir, Delhamiyeh and Zifta. On July 16, more Israeli raids on Damour and the Palestinian refugee camp of Ain Hilweh near Sidon resulted in 35 people murdered and over 100

wounded, most of them civilians. Only after all these barbaric and unprovoked air raids, did Palestinian and Lebanese resistance units shell military Zionist settlements in the north of occupied Palestine, whereby, according to Israeli sources 4 people were killed and some 20 wounded. The Israelis "responded" with a horrible massacre amongst Palestinian and Lebanese civilians.

Eyewitnesses to the bombing of Fakhani in Beirut on the morning of July 17, were reminded of the pictures of World War II, and the criminal bombings by the NAZI Luftwaffe of the civilian centers of Coventry, Rotterdam and many Soviet Russian cities and villages.

Through the smoke and debris survivors were running and screaming, searching for their relatives. Cars were burning in what had been just a few moments earlier some of Beirut's busiest streets crowded with Friday traffic. One could identify the remnants of the carts of the vegetable sellers, where the housewives had gathered to do their shopping to prepare the evening meals to celebrate the Holy Month of Ramadan. Pools of blood were dripping from the stairs of the blasted shops on the ground floors of

the buildings.

Palestinian and Lebanese rescue workers started to try to open their way into the ruins while the air raids were still going on. Ambulances were rushing to the piles of distorted concrete under which hundreds of people lay buried. Mothers ran blindly carrying their babies, others were dragging elderly or disabled people urging them to hurry and leave.

But where could all these people go?

Where would the Israeli strategists of terror allow them to breathe and survive? Where could the Lebanese go after seven years of continued aggression, shelling, bombing, sniping and explosions which have spared virtually no town or village?

And where could the Palestinians go — if not back to Palestine to their homeland, wherefrom the Zionists had driven them with terror in 1948 and further in 1967?

The Fakhni massacre signals the repetition of Begin's Deir Yassin massacre of 1948, on the technological level and scale of 1981. The Zionists are resuming the tactics of mass terror warfare against a civilian population with all the latest systems for mass destruction lavishly supplied to them by the United States.

If one walks through the streets of Beirut, Nabaziyah, Tyre and Sidon today, if one looks at the smoldering rubble burying hundreds of women, men and children, it strikes one that the Begins and their blood-thirsty generals have drawn only one lesson from the Nazis, and the genocide committed against the Jews and the many more millions of other victims of fascism. That is that from now on it should be another people who should be the victims.

The masters of Camp David left out the Palestine problem. Now they try to "solve" the problem by liquidating the Palestinian people. They are attempting a new "final solution", another "Endlösung" in the language of Hitler: the method of undisguised genocide.

And quite similar to the Nazi war criminals, Begin and his ilk are with their perverted logic, trying to "justify" the program of mass extinction as a matter of "supreme legitimate self-defense." (Begin commenting on the raids of July 17) The Israeli aggressors who continue to drive the Palestinians from their lands, now claim that the continued existence and resistance of the Palestinian people in Lebanon and elsewhere poses a "threat" to them and gives them the "right to go further and further with ever larger preemptive strikes."

Israel, which always wants to be portrayed wrongly as a small country fighting for its survival, in fact has become a military super power which arrogantly violates the air space of any Arab country, bombs Arab scientific installations and slaughters civilian people by the hundreds in the most brutal and barbaric bombardment.

Instead of recognizing the basic error and injustice of Zionism, and allowing room for a just solution for the Palestinian people, the Israeli militarists threaten to be crazy enough to eventually blow-up the entire region.

One must realize that the monstrous example of international terrorism set by Israel in this massacre poses a direct threat to humanity and the world as a whole.

The people of Palestine and Lebanon have also learnt their lesson. They have learnt the lesson of 1948, which is that giving up the resistance will lead to ever further Zionist aggression and expansion. And they have learnt too, the lesson of the millions of victims and the victorious survivors of fascism, that eventually the fascists will be

swallowed in their own sea of destruction. Indeed this qualitative new stage of Zionist mass terror committed against the Arabs as exemplified by the Fakhni massacre, also signals the total bankruptcy of Zionism as a political and social concept.

Maybe they can break our hearts with sorrow over the lost women and children. But they will never break the determination of the Palestinian people to continue their resistance against the Zionist aggressors and their supporters in the White House. This is not because they are heroes but because they don't have any other choice.

P.L.O.
Foreign Information Department



Civilian victims of Israeli bombing

Israeli Bombing of Beirut

The following is an excerpt from an article appearing on July 18 in the Washington Post, written by Richard Cohen:

This is about the children I have seen—the children of the Sabra camp for Palestinian refugees in Beirut and the children of Damour and, of course, the Jewish children of Metulla and Kiryat Semona, which is across the border in Israel. Children are dying in all these places.

The other day, the Israelis bombed the Sabra camp and Palestinian installations in and around Beirut, killing about 300 persons, according to the Lebanese government. They hit places that are called camps, but they are not camps. They are neighborhoods. The Sabra camp has been in Beirut since 1948. It is old. It has taken root. What tents are now cottages and what were huts are now homes.

In the Sabra camp, there are courtyards with wild flowers and orange trees. In the Sabra camp, there are stores and streets and schools, and when you walk into the place, you do not realize that you have entered a camp. It does not look like a camp. It looks like a neighborhood.

To bomb the Sabra camp is like bombing

a neighborhood in Washington. It is like bombing Adams-Morgan. It is like bombing Harlem or Coral Gables or Westwood or any neighborhood you can think of in any city you can think of. It is not like bombing a camp with tents and where everything is military. It is like bombing the street where you live.

It means killing children. It means killing old people and women and men and widows and shopkeepers and killing them all because they happen to live in Palestinian neighborhood. Some may not even be Palestinians. Lebanese live in the camps. No matter. When the bombs fall, they too must die.

When I was in the camp, there were kids everywhere. They followed me wherever I went. They do not see many light-skinned, fair-haired people. There are lots of kids—lots of kids and lots of women but not many men. Some of the men work elsewhere in Beirut and some work elsewhere in the Middle East and some of course, are in the South.

To fire a Katyusha rocket at a border settlement in an act of war. To kill an innocent child is an outrage. But to use the

most complex airplanes known to man to bomb a city neighborhood is not even in the same ballpark. What is supposed to be the proper ration here, 300 to 3?

But the Reagan administration is not the captive of these experiences. It has to take the large view. So far, through its response to the bombings and the earlier raids has been timid. It admonishes Israel in a very mild way, postpones delivery of the planes that make such raids possible and then postpones delivery again. What is missing is a sense of outrage and shock that American planes are being used to kill innocent civilians in the neighborhoods of Beirut.

No one would suggest that America reconsider its friendship with Israel. This is basic and rooted in moral and democratic values that the two countries share—not to mention strategic concerns. For these reasons, the administration seems reluctant to deal with Israel as forcefully as it should. It thinks that the issue is friendship of alliances or the Russians, but that is no longer the case. In Beirut, the latest bombing is the killing of innocent civilians that is the issue. If you can't condone it for your enemies, you can't for your friends either.

Change of Israeli Governments

For the last 14 years, the US government has played games with the destiny of the Palestinian people as it waited for one nasty Israeli regime to be replaced by another nasty regime that might be responsive to the idea of a peace settlement. As it waited, condemning in between regimes Israeli practices of deportation, annexation of Jerusalem, expropriation of land, building colonies, collective punishment and the rest of it, the US government went ahead with its massive economic, political and military aid to Israel that actually made possible these practices. And as it did so, Washington went around self-righteously claiming its commitment to finding a solution to the Palestine question.

What successive Israeli coalition governments have repeatedly said—and there is little difference among the dozens of feuding factions that pass for political

parties in Israel forming these governments—is that there is not much to discuss of resolve when it comes to the Palestine question: The whole country is a Zionist domain, the Palestinians are a nameless, faceless group living under the rule of the gun, and Israel dictates the law, through its orgiastic notions of “security”, not only in Palestine, but also in Lebanon, in Syria, in Iraq and elsewhere in the Arab world. Even a cruelly trivialized version of Palestinian rights, as defined by the Camp David Accords, are rejected by Israel.

No string of quotations, no statistics, can capture the cruelties of the last 14 years in the West Bank/Gaza perpetrated by the Labor and Likud governments, and their various groups of supporters. Far more than political repression and the code of the occupying bully, on an unprecedented scale of geographical and social compass, is

involved. Israeli occupation in Palestine has literally engaged itself in the physical destruction of the heart of a whole nation.

And this is why the US, in its self-styled role as mediator, has played games with the destiny of the Palestinian people: It has refused to see, or to acknowledge seeing, the transmutations of value in the Zionist sensibility which, whether expressed by a Labor or a Likud coalition, are hell bent on a project of expansionism and conquest. By pampering successive Israeli governments with massive shipments of arms and equally massive infusions of economic aid, with the naive expectation that a “strong Israel” will be more moderate, the United States simply compounded the very problems in Palestine that it allegedly sought to resolve. By offering it an anything-goes indulgence, and by waiting with lunatic patience for the phantom Israeli leadership that would

An Interview with Israel Shahak



Israel Shahak was interviewed by a member of the Palestine Solidarity Committee on May 29, 1981 in Washington, D.C.

Q. What is your analysis of the upcoming Israeli elections?

A. The question of elections is tied to the question of the war atmosphere in Israel. Until the end of April, the polls showed that although Begin's position had improved from the very low levels of December and January, he cannot win the elections.

The war crisis was created partly for election purposes and partly for Begin's real aims. From the beginning of the war crisis in May, Begin has increased in popularity among the masses of Israeli people. At the same time almost all the upper class, say the top 10-12 percent of Israelis, are very strongly against him, but they are powerless.

Q. What are the indications of the war crisis?

A. One sign was the shooting down of the [Syrian] helicopters [in Lebanon] and Begin's declarations to remove the missiles of else. Immediately after this happened, the atmosphere in Israel changed, especially among the masses. There was a general mobilization, and people began buying supplies. And Begin started making speeches if not every day then every second day, but sometimes more than once a day.

The popular media in Israel belongs to the state, and is quite closed to anyone who would criticize Begin. He has the support of the afternoon papers which are read by most Israelis. Begin is a very accomplished demagogue. He speaks in exactly the style to which the majority of Israelis are accustomed, not only from the Prime

Minister but from the popular media for the last 10 to 15 years. He knows how to appeal to all the chauvinistic, racist and religious feelings of Israeli Jews. He uses Jewish history, every speech begins with the Bible, and goes on at length about Jewish history, in a completely perverted manner, and then suddenly arrives at the coming war. He stresses that this war is the preparation for the coming of the messiah, that victory is assured, because the messiah is going to come very soon and the whole world will be saved when the Arabs will be defeated, etc.

Q. How many people really believe this?

A. Well, belief is a very great question, but 80% are impressed. Not all 80% are sufficiently impressed to believe in it 100%, but people will be impressed to go to war.

Q. Some Americans suggest that Begin's war crisis is a way of testing the Reagan administration's commitment to Israel?

A. I don't think so. I don't think that he is testing. I think that he wants to stop the Reagan administration's pro-Saudi policy. By now the conflict between the Regan administration and Begin over the Saudis is quite clear. Begin wants to stop the sale of American weapons to Saudi Arabia, and to stop the American policy toward Saudi Arabia and Saudi influenced forces and states in the Middle East. This can be much more dangerous to him than anything the Carter administration proposed. Inside the Reagan administration, in top postions, Begin doesn't have such good friends and defenders and feeders of information, like Carters advisors Stuart Eisenstadt and Robert Lipshutz. Both have become salesmen of Bonds for the state of Israel. Begin is very worried about US-Saudi ties, and the war is his way to stop the process. He is not just testing, but in my opinion, changing the political process by military means, and of course this has been Begin's way for nearly 40 years.

Q. He's forcing the U.S. to make a choice?

A. Yes, and he is hoping that if he will make war, soon enough the U.S. will make the choice in his favor. If he allows the process to go on, then it couldn't be stopped.

But the Palestinian angle is as important as the Saudi connection.

There are three important things about the Palestinians in Lebanon which worry Begin and the government and army. First of all, during the last six months, the Palestinian military forces in Lebanon have developed military defensive capability. Before, if a Palestinian unit was bombarded

from the air or by artillery, it would be quiet for some weeks, even some months. But in the last six months, when Palestinians are bombarded, even more than usual, as soon as the bombardment is completed, they answer fire. They keep up continuous fire, if not during the day, then at night. This has created quite a lot of concern in the Israeli army. I would say more than the whole United Nations and the support of the third world.

By keeping up the continuous fire, the Palestinian forces have demoralized Said Haddad forces. Until April of this year, Israel hadn't built any shelters in the Haddad enclave. It was relying on what it called retaliation, because retaliation used to work. In late April shelters started being built, and they were only completed at the end of May. But even with shelters, the situation of those people is quite bad, because they are bombarded continuously, and because they are corrupt in a social sense. They are drug merchants, robbers, etc. They are not proper soldiers, and the fire that they return is very bad.

The occasion on which this became apparent to Israel was when Haddad was supposedly taken ill in April and was taken to a hospital in Haifa. Haddad was not ill. He threatened Israel that he will arrange for a march of 20,000 or 40,000 of his population

— women and children — to the Israeli borders, demanding shelter within the state of Israel, because they cannot endure more suffering. You can imagine what a loss of face this would be for Israel and for Begin personally. Begin's advisers took Haddad for a rest in Haifa hospital. The situation remains. From that time, Israeli officers and journalists and dignitaries are promising these people, again and again, to wait a little more, there will be something big, there will be war and you will have quiet."

The same thing on a lesser scale happens in Kiryat Shemona and certain other towns in Israel. The loss of life there is very slight because shelling is during the night. But the very fact that in Menachem Begin's Israel, after so man glorious declarations about finishing off the Palestinians, for weeks at a time, night after night, men, women and children in a certain area of Israel have to spend the night in the shelter, makes an enormous impression in Israel. In fact Kiryat Shemona no longer has a municipality, but a military commander with unlimited army budget to bribe people to remain, because otherwise they could have left. Any person in Kiryat Shemona receives any kind of work he wants and the army pays. It is quite unprecedeted in Israel. During most of April the government attempted to hide

World Reactions to Israel's Aggression Against Iraq



"Hundreds of Lebanese civilians have died and hundreds of thousands have been made homeless in recent years by the Israeli use of American fighters to attack civilian population centers in Southern Lebanon. It is absolutely vital to understand that Iraq has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The plant that was destroyed by the Israeli attack was subject to international safeguards and inspections aimed at insuring that the facility would not be used to build a nuclear weapon. Israel has consistently refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. These facts cannot help but lead one to the unhappy conclusion that the Begin government is loathe to accept the constraints placed on other nations of the world through international law, but will willingly and unilaterally usurp international and U.S. law through the use of force if Israel alone determines that such laws do not serve its national interests". *United States Senator, Mark Hatfield.*

"Quite a good deal has recently been heard from Washington about the so-called

need to struggle against international terrorism and yet it would be difficult to find any clearer example of international terrorism at the level of state policy than what is done by Tel Aviv using American weaponry and with the political cover of the United States of America". *Ambassador Oleg Troyanovsky, USSR.*

"We still believe that the Israeli attack was profoundly wrong and misguided and that it may have far-reaching future conduct of other states. In such a world any state physically able to do so could justify offensive military action against another at any time by virtue of its own subjective assessment of a possible further threat, or indeed its dislike of the character of the regime or government in question." *Ambassador Noel Dorr, Ireland.*

"When the Israelis discourse on the need for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East they remind me of an armed bandit who walks into a courtroom, takes everybody hostage and then lectures the group on the virtues of being a law-abiding citizen.

The Israeli action is morally indefensible.

"The Israeli action is morally indefensible and definitely legally untenable and has imponderable consequences for the laws governing relations among nations. There are no mitigating circumstances. Instead of showing remorse, Israel has openly sworn to repeat its action against any state in the region.

"We submit that Israel's systematic arrogance and adamant behavior are contributed to, in part, by the failure of this (Security) Council to assert itself and act ensure deterrence."

Political Counsellor Nathan Irumba, Uganda

First, the military action is an act of aggression. The illegality of this act is compounded by the violation of the air space of two member states of the United Nations.

Second, that attack is totally unjustified, since the aggressor state has not offered any proof that the Iraqi installations were for military purposes.

Third, the suspicion, invoked by the

government of Israel, did not in any way authorize it to commit aggression.

Fourth, It is inadmissible to invoked the right to self-defence when no armed attack has taken place.

Fifth, the absence of formal relations between states in no way justifies acts of aggression.

Sixth, Israel's attack be seen as the climax of escalating violations of international law.

Seventh, the act of aggression is evidence of rejection of peaceful means for the solution of the conflicts in the Middle East.

Eighth, the destruction of the nuclear plant reveals an intention to affirm the superiority of one state over others.

Ninth, aggression against a country that is not a member of any military pact or alliance damages the very principle of nonalignment.

Tenth, the warlike initiative undermines the foundations of the disarmament process.

Eleventh, the action entails...contempt for the authority of the IAEA.

Twelfth, destruction (of the reactor) amounts to an attempt to restrain the struggle for development."

**President of the U.N. Security Council,
Porfirio Munoz Ledo, Mexico**

"This case is therefore not confined solely to Iraq but applies also to all the Arab countries, because they are all equally and explicitly threatened, as is evident in official Israeli proclamations...

The so-called Israeli security policy is not defensive but an aggressive and expansionist policy which continuously threatens international peace.

In the light of this, Israel does not at all desire peace, unless the states of the region become subservient to its own definition of peace, which is based upon violence and domination.

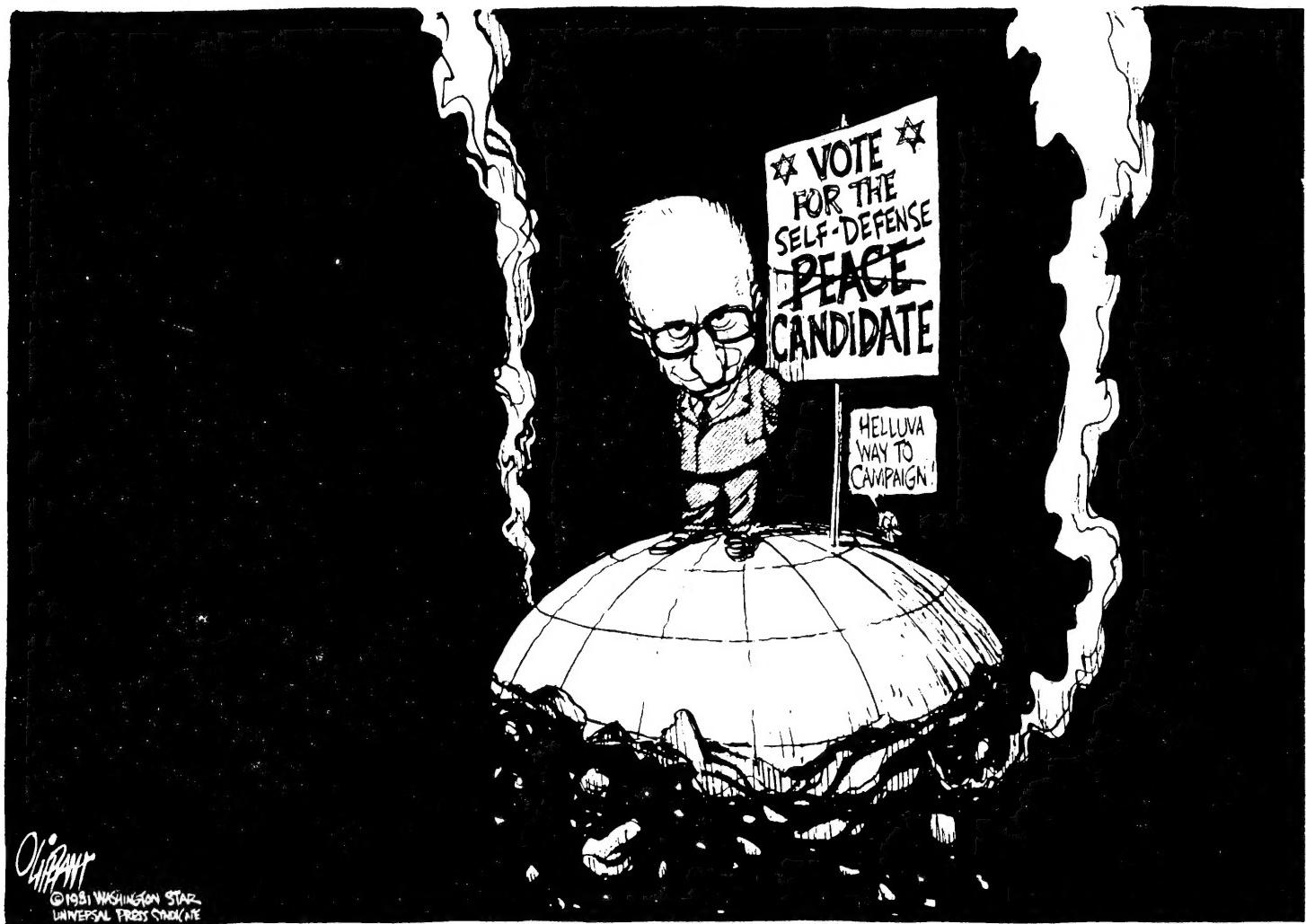
...it is an uncivilized concept which runs counter to all the values of civilization...

In the face of those Israeli practices the super-power and the great powers have to shoulder their responsibility with firmness because it is their duty to utilize all means for the preservation of peace and security in all regions of the world."

**Deputy Prime Minister Foreign Minister of
Kuwait, Chairman, Arab League Council,
Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad**

My government rejects the allegation that the Tammuz reactor was intended to produce atomic bombs . . . the Tammuz-II reactors are the exact replicas of the Isis and Osiris reactors which were built for the needs of the French civil program . . . the Tammuz reactor was conceived exclusively for scientific research. Any attempt to use it to produce plutonium for military purposes would require a radical alteration of the installation and the manipulation of quantities of dangerously irradiated materials. It would be absurd for a country to build a reactor such as the Tammuz reactor to get material for military purposes.

Ambassador Jacques Leprette, France



Israeli Bombing of Lebanon



The Israeli bombing of civilian targets in West Beirut in Friday July 17 killing and injuring over one thousand innocent Lebanese and Palestinian civilians is one more example of the ruthless irrational policies of Prime Minister Begin. As in the 1948 massacre of Palestinian farmers at the village of Deir Yassin, Begin today thinks that through terror and devastating military strikes he can defeat the Palestinian people and wipe them off the political map. Thus he totally ignores the United Nations and other international tribunals, takes law into his own hands and bombs civilian



neighborhoods and towns and villages at will.

History has proven that the Palestinian people cannot be wiped out. Close to four million, living under a brutal Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza and in refugee camps right around Israel, they continue to survive despite the massive Israeli military strikes from air, sea and ground. Their problem is political and it cannot be dismissed by Israeli bombs. The Palestinian people, long exiled and denied self-determination, are entitled full national independence in their own Palestinian state.

The sooner the Israeli people realize this fact, the closer we move to a lasting solution and an end to violence and conflict.

The U.S. government bears a grave responsibility, since it continues to supply Israel with the advanced military weapons, and it totally disregards Palestinian national rights, and assist them to survive and return to their homeland to live in freedom. If the U.S. government continues to support Israeli bombing of Arab states and peoples, then soon it will lose any remaining goodwill and credibility it enjoys in the Middle East.

Date:	Partial List of Israeli Air Attacks	Casualties:
July 10, 1981	Israeli warplanes bombed South Lebanon (Sidon-Nabatiya Road, Habboush, Wadi al-Athdar).	7 civilians killed
July 13, 1981	24 Israeli F-15's, Phantoms and Mirages attacked Damour, Naameh, Haret al-Naameh, Deir al-Zahrani.	4 killed, 12 wounded
July 14, 1981	Israeli bombers attacked Delhamia, Bireiya, Garmaq, Arab Salim, casualties not known Zifta.	
July 16, 1981	Israeli artillery shelled Lebanese villages and Palestinian camps in Sidon, Tyre, Nabitiyah, Hasbaya.	3 civilians killed, 30 wounded
July 17, 1981	Israeli warplanes bombed al-Akhdar and Arab Salim near Nabatiya and Ein El-hilala camp, and Damour area.	
	Forty Israeli warplanes bombed West Beirut (Arab University, Iman Ali Mosque and residential houses).	223 civilians killed, 620 wounded
	Israeli air attacks on Tyre, Damour, Rashidiya and Burj al-Shemali. Artillery hit 16 other towns and villages in the South.	36 civilians killed, 90 wounded
	Israeli F-15's, Phantoms, Mirages hit Tyre, Beaufort, Nabatiya. Ain al-Hilweh camp hit three times.	
July 18, 1981	Israeli planes, naval vessels, artillery bomb Beirut, destroying bridges on roads in South, including Qilya lBridge and Hamra Bridge. Heavy artillery bombardment of Sidon, Tyre, Nabitiya.	3 civilians killed and 30 wounded
July 19, 1981	Israeli warplanes bomb Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps. Israeli planes bomb Tyre, Beaufort Castle area, Sidon, Hasbayar, Nabatiyah.	12 civilians killed, casualties unobtainable because bridges destroyed
July 20, 1981	Israeli planes bombed Beaufort Castle area, Nabitiyah.	
July 23, 1981	Israeli artillery bombardment hit area north of Nabatiyah. Israeli planes bombed Zahran area hitting part of the refinery of the Trans Arabia pipeline which supplies 40 percent of Lebanon's petroleum products. Two bridges destroyed while civilians attempted to cross makeshift bridges.	70 civilians killed or wounded



When Begin and his generals launched their latest campaign against the Palestinian Resistance and Lebanon, he claimed that his objective was to prevent rockets from being fired at Qiryat Shmona and other Israeli settlements in Galilee. A more sophisticated argument, put forth in reply to those who observed that rockets were only fired at Galilee when Begin attacked Lebanon was that the P.L.O. had developed an ominously threatening military capability in South Lebanon, which must be destroyed at all costs.

What can we say after three air raids on Lebanon in five days followed by five continuous days and nights of bombing shelling and naval attacks which left perhaps 2000 killed and wounded most of them civilians and 1000 of them in Friday's terror bombing of Beirut?

First, clearly Begin and his generals have only brought down on the heads of their fellow citizens what they claimed they were trying to prevent. Several hundred rockets and shells have been fired at Israeli military positions in and near the Galilee settlements in response to the Israeli offensive beginning two days after the bombing of the Lebanon started on July 10th.

The PLO had rigorously from shelling Galilee for over six weeks before that date in keeping with its policy of not initiating

military action across the Lebanese frontiers. In April and May it had been careful to show self-restraint and only to fire in answer to repeated shelling over the past 10 days, but Begin's wanton provocation and his massacre of hundreds of innocents left the Joint Forces with no alternative but to respond.

A second point which emerges after this Israeli initiated spiral of violence is that if Begin and his generals seriously believed that attacks would weaken the P.L.O. military, they were sadly mistaken as the inhabitants of the Galilee border settlements, who have spent night after night in their shelters can attest.

Far from having been weakened the Joint Forces have succeeded in reinforcing their forces in the South in keeping lines of communication and supply open, and in making the enemy pay for his aggression. This in spite of repeated ferocious daily air attacks, in spite of constant bombardments day and night by Israeli artillery and naval guns and in spite of nightly Israeli attempts to keep them off balance with helicopter over flights amphibious and heliborne landing in rear areas and the dropping of flares.

More important perhaps, Begin has probably achieved the opposite of his other objective, which was to turn the P.L.O. into

a battered and weakened outcast in the international community. Instead, he has given it new stature as an opponent on the same level as Israel, one which behaves in a logical manner and which is clearly far more responsible than Israel in its actions.

Politically and informationally the P.L.O. has reaffirmed its credibility, for as the UN observes foreign diplomats and journalists both in Lebanon and in Israel can attest, its media have been generally reliable and objective while those of Israel have tendentiously attempted to distort reality by portraying a campaign of premeditated aggression as self-defence.

The fruits of this war have been bitter indeed for Begin and his generals. For in addition to failing in their main objective, they have further enhanced Israel's isolation internationally as the results of the Ottawa Summit Show.

It is the Palestinian and Lebanese people who have paid the greatest human price, but politically and indeed militarily, Begin's war has been a total failure.

Palestine News Agency (WAFA)
Beirut, Lebanon.

Palestinian Students Convention

The Union of Palestine Students in the US held its second annual convention at the University of Iowa attended by over eight hundred Palestinian students from all over the United States. They discovered ways of dealing with their economic and academic problems, and increasing their role to defend the Palestinian cause. The convention received messages of support from Chairman Arafat, and American students and supportive organizations.

It also received a message of solidarity from the Lebanese National Movement, delivered by Mr. Karim Murqawah, Vice President of the Movement. The convention adopted a number of resolutions expressing full support for the PLO, and pledging continued struggle by the Palestinian students to defend their national rights and to achieve freedom for their people.

Bureij Homes Destroyed

Israeli authorities destroyed the homes of Hasan Ali al-Kronz and Khalil Ahmad in Bureij on June 22, leaving 31 people homeless.

Israel Radio reported that a Fatah cell was discovered in the camp and accused alleged members of throwing a hand grenade at an Israeli car and planting explosives in an Israeli army gas station.

Military forces have been breaking into homes in Bureij and Shattla and harassing women and children. Authorities claim they are looking for Hasan al-Kronz, who they have not found.

Residents have threatened a sit-in at the Gaza Red Crescent if the harassment does not stop.

Military Authority Forbids Unions

According to *Al-Fajr* newspaper, the Israeli authorities have issued a military order which forbids any newly established trade unions in Jerusalem from joining the General Federation of West Bank Trade Unions. The order also voids the membership in the General Federation of old unions based in Jerusalem.

The General Federation met to discuss methods to confront this decision.

ZIAD AND EIN UPDATE

The U.S. Supreme Court is now considering whether to hear the case of Ziad Abu Ein. Ziad is a 21-year old Palestinian jailed in Chicago for the past two years and threatened with extradition to Israel. In July, Ziad's lawyers submitted the case to the Supreme Court, the last possible legal step in the struggle to keep Ziad out of the notoriously unfair zionist legal system. The Israeli state has accused Ziad of planting a bomb, but has provided no evidence to substantiate this charge. Ziad, however, has presented evidence proving his innocence. Ziad's case is being used by the Begin government as a political test of relations with the U.S. administration. For more information on the Ziad Abu Ein case, contact the Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1347, Chicago, ILL. 60690. Ziad needs your financial, moral and political support.

Israel Sets Up Civil Court for Citizens in West Bank

In a move aimed at tightening control over its occupied territories, Israel has formally opened its first civil court in the occupied West Bank. A Magistrates Court began hearing civil and criminal cases in the Jewish suburb of Kiryat Arba, outside the Arab town of Hebron. Until now, military courts have held sole authority in the occupied territories. A court spokesman said the court would only deal with cases involving Israelis. Arabs would continue to be tried by military courts.

Non-Aligned Movement Condemns Israeli Attacks on Palestinian Refugees and Repression in South Africa

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries condemned the Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and the repression practiced by the South African racist regime on the population of that country.

According to a statement issued by the Movement in a plenary session, The Israeli forces in southern Lebanon have violated the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a non-aligned country.

The member states voiced their concern over the recent statements made by Washington in support of the policies and practices of the racist regimes of pretoria and Tel Aviv.

They emphasized that the support coming from some of the most important Western powers enables both regimes to persist in stubbornly and arrogantly defying world public opinion.

They charged that the Pretoria regime has intensified the repression within South Africa, thus reaffirming its fascist nature, on the 20th anniversary of the so-called republic and on the eve of one more anniversary of the Soweto rebellion.

They reiterated their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian and South African peoples and called on all countries and international agencies to exert pressure on South Africa and Israel to halt the attacks.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

September 7

Arab American Day on the Mall, Washington, D.C. Arab music, crafts, food, exhibits. For information call: (202) 797-7757.

September 11-12

United Holy Land Fund Annual Convention. Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. For further information call: (312) 663-9056.

October 10

FEARAB Convention, including South American and North American Organizations. Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. For further information call: (202) 787-7757.

November 6-8

Association of Arab-American University Graduates Convention. Hyatt Regency, Houston, Texas. For information call: (617) 484-5483.

Ramallah Federation Annual Meeting

The Ramallah Palestine Federation held its annual convention on July 7-11 in Houston, Texas with over two thousand Palestinian Americans attending. The Federation's main guest speaker the Reverend Joseph Lowery head of the Southern Christian Leadership conference gave a moving speech in which he called on the US government to come out of the closet and recognize the PLO and deal with it directly. Reverend Lowery criticized American military aid to Israel and called for that aid to be directed to the poor people and minority people in the US who are in great economic and social need. The convention received messages of support from Chairman Yasser Arafat and from Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, and Mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf. It adopted a number of resolutions expressing full support for the PLO and calling on the US government to cut off all military and economic aid to Israel.

Change of Israeli Governments

(Continued from page 4)

respoemd to human rationality, the US has fornd itself victim of a process of Zionist automatism: Once the elaborte Israeli machinery of building settlements had slipped into gear, and the "Biblical Israel" syndrome had gripped the Israeli mind, it became exceedingly difficult to stop. The US is now reduced, pathetically, to pleading for some kind of return to the Camp David Accords, an agreement that Israel, in effect, has torn to shreds, and reduced to standing by helplessly, with hat in hand, as Israel bombs Iraq and Lebanon, threatens to go to war with Syria over the deployment of defensive anti-aircraft weapons in the Bekaa Valley, demands that AWACS not be sold to Saudi Arabia, categorically declares that the Golan Hights will never be returned to the Syrians and annexes Jerusalem in broad daylight -- all of which is know to be against the national interests of the American people and against official, declared American policy in the Middle East. And no one in the American government, or outside it in the media, has ever suggested impatience with Israel's tasteless ploys of constantly evoking the holocaust of the Second War to gain sympathy and justify its barbarities and acts of aggression against the Arab and

Palestinian people.

The Reagan Administration had believed or hoped, incredibly, that the Palestine question could be put aside, possibly indefinitely, in favor of forging an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Middle East that would bring certain Arab governments together in alliance with Israel. Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, who went to the area to sell this most crazy and outrageous of ideas, was sent home after being told by leaders in various Arab capitals that it was Israel, not the Soviet Union, that is a threat to the region.

In many ways, the events of the last few months have been a profitable learning experience for the new Administration. They have come to see that every major Middle East crisis of late has had a Palestinian dimension. In one way or another, the Syrian missile crisis, the Lebanese crisis, and even the Iraq crisis all lead back to the original question of Palestine and the national destiny of the Palestinian people.

The Challenge is: Will the US recognize that the importance of Palestine, at any time in the immediate or distant future, can never blur away from immediacy?

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

Since the inception of the State of Israel in 1948 there has been constant struggle between the Zionist and Palestinian people. The PLO has been in the forefront of the struggle of the Palestinian peoples effort to obtain freedom, justice, and equality. It has indeed been a just struggle from the depths of the hearts of the many martyrs who have given their lives in this most noble cause.

I am writing this letter to show my concern and consciousness of the plight of the Palestinian people. I would like to find out more about the activities of the P.L.O. I am interested in some of the numerous social welfare and political projects that this organization has undertaken since its inception.

Sincerely,
Terence K. Manuel

Dear Sir:

The Arab-Israeli situation cries out for coverage by information media that put immediate events in a historical context. The gradual process of blackout since 1948 of the centuries of existence of Palestine and its Arab inhabitants and a virtual re-writing by Israel of history, threaten to blind Americans to bed rock facts that undergird the natural and just claims of the Palestinians to a part of what for 1300 years or more has been their homeland.

The USA is Israel's political and military and economic guarantee. The American people who pay Israel's bills without complaint deserve to know what it is that makes Israel so isolated in the neighborhood chosen for a Jewish homeland. As Israel's protector, we need not be suffocated by and overweening sense of concern for Israeli/Jewish self esteem,

nor should we be unmindful of the injustice done to Palestine's Arabs as a result of the creation and expansion of Israel. Unless we demonstrate a determination to present Israel with some alternative choice that require dismantlement of West Bank settlement, such as the abandonment of Syrian land in Golan; the sharing of the administration of the city of Jerusalem; and end to the illegal and provocative overflight of neighboring and other countries by military planes as well as to the oppressive treatment of original inhabitants, the Arabs living in Israel-unless the United States is prepared to act on such matters, Israel's policies threaten to wreck American interests throughout the Middle East.

Sincerely,

Lee F. Dinsmore
FSO Retired

Shahak . . .

(continued from page 5)

everything, but *Maari* the right-wing newspaper, broke the news.

The third factor, and in my opinion the most serious, is that the Israeli troops, especially the reserves, have begun to look on Palestinians as good soldiers whom one respects. Of course with soldiers it is always a contradiction: if you respect your enemy as a soldier, you want to kill him all the more. But if a long attrition war continues with the same sort of response, then you want to make a peace with him. I think the U.S. in Vietnam, or the French in Algeria passed through those two completely usual stages. The first stage exists now, and this can be the greatest threat to both Begin and Labor. The only way to stop the process is to make a really great war before the real respect will bear its fruit.

Q: How will this come about? The March 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was not a success.

A: No, I mean a big war, not a Litani operation. I mean a big war in which Syria will be involved. There is no strategic sense in going to Beirut if Syria has not been destroyed. When I say I expect a war, I expect a really great war against Syria and the Palestinians, but the reason for the war is of course the Palestinians. The Palestinians will probably play a major role in this war. I don't know if Begin's plans will succeed. In my opinion the Israeli army in actual presence on the ground is much weaker than many think. therefore, the chances are more than 50 percent up to 70 percent that although Begin hopes for a quick victory, this war will become an attrition war. This could be the Soviet plan

too. Obviously the Soviets stand to win much more, and they have already won some prestige, but they will win ten, twenty fold prestige and more permanent importance if they appear as the defenders of Damascus.

Q: It seems clear from here that the Reagan administration is not ready for war.

A: No, on this I am not sure at all.

Q: What is your analysis of the Habib mission?

A: First of all, I don't think the Habib mission is the expression of American involvement of the highest level. The highest level of American involvement is when the president speaks. The president didn't say anything about the Middle East during the whole month of May and maybe April too. And when there is such a danger of war and the president doesn't speak, it is an

indication that the U.S. will accept both alternatives. If Habib, by some miracle will accomplish something, fine, but if not, let Begin make war. I think the U.S. is going to be neutral in this war, if Begin makes it under his conditions. I think Begin knows it and will make a gamble on it. This means that you will not have, at least in the first stages of the war, any big supplies of American arms. If the war goes according to Begin's plans, the U.S. wins. If Begin has to come after two weeks or so on his knees, crawling to the White House and asking for arms, then again, American wins.

Literature and Resources Available from the Palestine Information Office

Our Roots are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People	\$5.45
The Palestinian Problem: An Annotated Bibliography 1967-80	1.00
Toward Peace in Palestine	1.00
Zionist/Israeli Acts of Terrorism 1939-81	1.00
Palestine's Poet: Abu Salma	1.00
International Declarations, Zionism and Racism	1.00
Camp David and Palestine	1.00
Samed Handicrafts	
Films on Palestine	
Palestinian Posters	

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